/73 cont./

175 369 499 133 The surveys for the future course of this railway revealed that the shortest route would have to follow the Atlantic coast, but since this is bordered by dunes it would necessitate some important construction work. The passage across the slope of Thiès was also a serious obstacle, but the "Ravin des Voleurs" made access to the plateau possible; the line would thus follow the valley which cuts the brow of the hill, then the depression which follows the plateau to the east, and would pass in front of the military fort established at its extremity.

175 369 [361] The fortune of Thiès was made: as early as 1885, the date of the opening of the railroad, the merchants of Rufisque set up branches there; a plan for dividing the future city into lots was outlined. This plan, unfortunately, foresaw the development of the city only north of the line, along the trail connecting Thiès with Rufisque and Dakar. A Catholic [797] mission was established in the vicinity, and in 1893 the first civil administrator occupied the new residence built near the Faidherbe redoubt.

175 369 439 [496] [492] The groundnut policy developed successfully; 20,000 tons of groundnuts were shipped by rail from the Thiès station in 1890 (3). Commerce, however, was not established in

3. Convoys of camels competed with the railway up to 1910 and transported their cargo to the port of Rufisque. Thiès was the last stop before reaching the quays of embarkation 50 kilometers away.

[366] [441] permanent fashion in the escale: only during the period of trading (from November to May) did the European employees sent by the firms of Rufisque live in the city and buy groundnuts, millet, cotton ... at their branches; from May to November they returned to Rufisque, and most of the shops in Thiès were closed, the city seemingly dead.

/74/

175 The major part of the commerce was then concentrated
369 north of the railway; nevertheless, as early as 1895 some
[366] shops were established to the south, near the residence.

In 1890 Thiès had a permanent population of 1,200
[162] inhabitants. Some native quarters were established in the
175 vicinity of the commercial escale. The little village of
369 Thiès-None was shifted from the other side of the railway.
361 A native quarter was attached to the western part of the commercial zone; it was moved toward the south after the plague of 1911 and took the name of Randoulème (a word meaning in Wolof: remove yourself). Takhikao (storied house in Wolof), established originally near the first storied house belonging to Maurel and Prom, was ultimately pushed back along the route to Saint-Louis (Fig. 2).

175 Little by little, while the military function fell asleep,
369 the development of commerce brought stable economic
[366] activity to the city. Until 1914 the city grew very little,
[162] and its population amounted to only 2,400 inhabitants at that date; from 1885 to 1914 the city gained only 1,400 souls in all.

The military function of the city recovered part of its former importance during the war of 1914. The base of Thiès
[712] became a center of military training for new recruits. The quarter of Diakhao adjoining the camp was enlarged by the arrival of the families of the military. On the other hand, commerce was threatened during this period. The French
175 personnel, which since the beginning of the century had been
369 permanently established, was summoned to the colors. In
441 order to avoid shutting up shop, the Levantines were called
563 upon. The latter had made their appearance in Senegal as early as 1895 and up to that time had played only a very secondary role in the market of the city: selling candles, matches, beads... The war of 1914 facilitated their entry into the lucrative activity of trade.

/74 cont./

369 498 [175] 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the commercial escale and which brought Thiès to the rank of a city was without question the establishment of the railroad repair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been undertaken to connect Thiès to Bamako directly by rail; difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923 only the junction of the two sections had been made at Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the repair shops of the Thiès-Niger established in the center nearest the coast. Thiès, head of the line, was chosen as [162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls, going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 441 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impulsion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity which showed in the expansion of the firms already established and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up [472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under [563] European management and who had been kept out of the retail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

[177]

> 4. It is the military, it seems, who brought back from France this idea of establishing for themselves small grocery stores copied from those encountered in the villages of the mother country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele, multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city increased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

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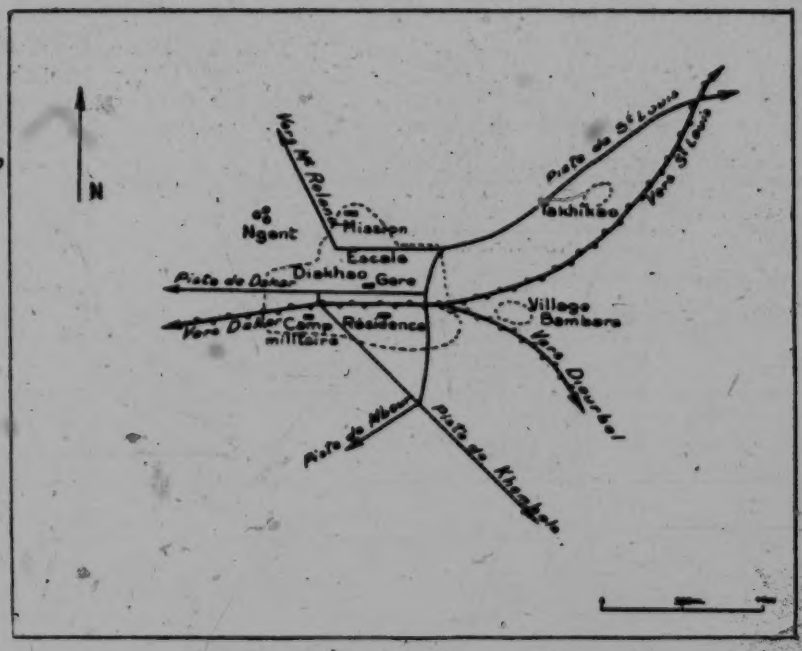

Fig. 2. Thiès in 1910.

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acquired during the period of hostilities, their knowledge of the language, and their great aptitude for adapting themselves to the customs of the country and for living under very curtailed conditions /76/ made these newcomers serious competitors whom French commerce tried, but in vain, to eliminate. All the concessions of the northern escale were now occupied (5); the

5. There was no question of extending the first lots farther to the north; the concession ceded to the Mission prevented such an extension.

newcomers -- chiefly Syrians -- set up their factorerie (6) in the

[443]

6. Factorerie: shop where everything is sold and where at the same time

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local products (groundnuts, millet ...) are bought or bartered for.

still almost empty quarter of the residence.

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Already the economic equilibrium of the city was no longer essentially based on the commerce of trade, subject to price fluctuations, but also on the budding industry which assured it a certain stability. It is true that the latter, barely acquired, was put to a harsh test during the world crisis from 1930 to 1934. In the course of this difficult period the price of the groundnut slumped. The old commercial firms which depended solely on the trading were no longer able to meet their payments and liquidate their stock: Société Française du Sénégal, the firms Lacombe, Latrille... The sounder establishments were themselves obliged to close their city branches temporarily, for example, Peyrissac, Maurel Frères. Nevertheless one did not see here a complete slump in commerce with spectacular failures such as occurred in Dakar, but rather commercial liquidations, sales of stocks that were repurchased by Levantines and wholesale companies.

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The effects of the crisis, which ended in 1934, resulted in a redistribution of commercial ownership, a readaptation of commerce to the new requirements, along with the definitive establishment of the Levantines.

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At this date the fusion of the two railroad companies, the Dakar--Saint-Louis and Thiès-Niger, stimulated an expansion of the industrial quarter by regrouping at Thiès the workshops originally installed at Dakar for the Dakar--Saint-Louis railway.

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On the eve of the Second World War the city reached the figure of 22,000 inhabitants, 1,200 of them Europeans. The almost complete disappearance of epidemics, the better food supply, the construction of comfortable houses (Ballabey district created as early as 1925 for the railway workers, villas for officers) permit metropolitan families to settle in a permanent fashion. In a parallel manner, the native

/83 cont./

3. The Activities of the City

1. Commerce.

433 If we except the period of conquest, during which a handful of troops established themselves in the entrenched camp, the primary function of Thiès was commerce.

441 433 An escale of trade in its beginnings, Thiès has remained that up to our times. Almost 25,000 tons of groundnuts are commercialized each year in spite of the opening of important points of trade in the vicinity, Tivaouane, Khombole, located some 30 kilometers from there. This commerce demands a certain taste for risk; if in certain years it offers appreciable profits, it sometimes renders the balance sheet of the merchants who practice it very precarious. The groundnut trade, as far as purchase from the producer is concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Levantines and a few Moors and Blacks. The important establishments, N. O. S. O. C. O. (8) and the Soucaïl firm,

[563] [442]

8. N. O. S. O. C. O. Nouvelle Société Commerciale.

engage only in wholesale trade.

443 The factorerie run by a Levantine (9) next to the

[162] [563]

9. The Levantines are 48 in number, namely, 23 Syrians and 25 Lebanese (figures of 1952).

courtyard of the secco (10) has kept all its picturesqueness

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10. Secco: mass of groundnuts stored in the courtyard of the merchant and destined for export.

[438] up to our day. /84/ Everything is sold there, from the piece of trade cloth in vivid colors to cheap perfume; kerosene by the liter and millet by the kilo or sack are retailed there.

/14/
of training. This is one of the essential preoccupations of the present Sengalese government.

II. The "Trade" of Groundnuts

For a century the total volume of production has progressed in spectacular fashion. Actually, no statistics are available at the harvesting stage. Only the commercial figures are known with any accuracy. In any case they differ little from the total figure of production because local consumption seems to be of little importance. It is estimated that the average production of groundnuts from 1900 to 1904 was 123,000 metric tons. The more recent figures are the following: 1938-1939 campaign, 584,000 metric tons; 1942-1943 compaign, 183,000 metric tons; 1943-1944 campaign, 281,000 metric tons; 1957-1958 campaign, 808,000 metric tons; 1958-1959 campaign, 653,000 metric tons; 1959-1960 campaign, 720,000 metric tons.

Except for the period of the war, when the production of groundnuts, difficult to export, decreased to the profit of that of millet, progress was continuous, the 1957-1958 campaign being exceptionally favorable.

This production enters into the circuit of commercialization or "trade," which today is very strictly regulated.

1. The organization of "trade." The commercialization of the groundnut has replaced the "trade" in gum, slaves, and gold of the former colonial system. Although the term is still often used, its present context is very different from the acceptation of the era of the colonial pact. Trade is no longer, as Littré wished it to be, an exchange trade organized almost exclusively for the benefit of the European "trader"; today it is a commercial activity that is strictly regulated as to time and place and open only to approved intermediaries.

1.) The "campaign." "The campaign" is the period

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442 437 [992] [488] [452] [443] [438] into the secco, an area with a floor of hard earth or cement, closed off by sheet metal. The agriculturalist, paid forthwith, immediately spends the sum received, in settling the sums owed to the trader and in buying from among the manufactured objects of the same factory the most diverse articles: cloth, playthings, articles for bicycles, etc. Thus the same trader realizes two profits in the traditional system.

439 441 442 438 3) The agents of trade. Until the Second World War, the trade in groundnuts was in the hands of about 3,000 private traders organized in a strict hierarchy. At the top, the trade was controlled by the large import-export houses, especially of Bordeaux origin, Maurel et Prom, Peyrissac, Vézia, etc., to which was added the C. F. A. O. of Marseilles origin, and the S. C. O. A. Franco-Switzerland. These firms, whose central agencies for Senegal are in Dakar, make arrangements for the "banks" and "agencies" in the principal localities, for "factories" in the escales, and for "operations" in the bush. These commercial houses concentrate the purchases of their various traders and provide them with imported products. They are supported during the campaign by the banks of the mother country or their agencies in Senegal.

441 442 438 [563] The independent French merchants, often former employees of the firms, play the role of intermediary /demi-grossiste/ in the escales. /16/ They buy directly from the producers or from the African sub-trader and bag and forward /the product/ to the commercial houses in the shipping ports. They have been very harshly affected by the economic crisis of the 1930's and then by the war, in particular by the mobilization, which facilitated the establishment of many Lebano-Syrian traders.

[563] The treaties of 1919 facilitated the arrival in Africa of these Lebano-Syrians. They devote themselves essentially to commerce, and they have on the whole succeeded, because, living near the autochthons, they have adopted their way of life and are contented with much less than the independent Europeans. During the trade, they are generally commission agents of the firm that they represent. They receive a commission for each metric ton of groundnuts purchased, and sell in

442 443 438

/16 cont./

438 442 [443] [459] their establishments the manufactured products that the firm delivers to them. They are most often linked with the producers by the system of loans that they authorize in cash and especially in kind during the difficult period of low supplies before the harvest.

[441] The African "sub-traders" most often play the role of intermediary between the producers and the traders; they very often are transporters and guide the seller to the weighing-machine of a friend.

Since the last war this system has been greatly perturbed by the appearance of new purchasers who more and more compete with the traditional commerce. The local oil-makers [258] scarcely ever appeal to the large firms. They do business with the traders of the escales, or, more often, they have their 438 own buyers. Since 1952 some pilot co-operatives have made 442 the collection in many escales at little expense; they utilize 474 the personnel and equipment of the S.M.D.R. Moreover, the 656 law of 13 January 1960, creating an "Office de commercialisation agricole" (O.C.A.), has assigned to this body the responsibility of selling the products collected by the co-operatives (Art. 6) and has granted it license to create purchase points for the direct collection of local agricultural products in the sectors where there are as yet no co-operatives (Art. 7). The decree of 20 May 1960, which more precisely relates to the marketing of groundnuts, grants purchasing permits only to organismes stockeurs (O.S.) /storage bodies/, private or co-operative, properly approved by the decision of a Comité régional d'agrément /Regional Committee of Approval/, and to the purchasing posts of the O.C.A. One might ask if these decisions do not constitute a step toward the creation of an "Office de l'arachide" /Office for Groundnuts/, which would have exclusivity of the trade and could normalize a "circuit of groundnuts," now very complex. /Pl. I and II appear here on unnumbered pages./

1 [The Lebano-Syrian traders --Analyst]

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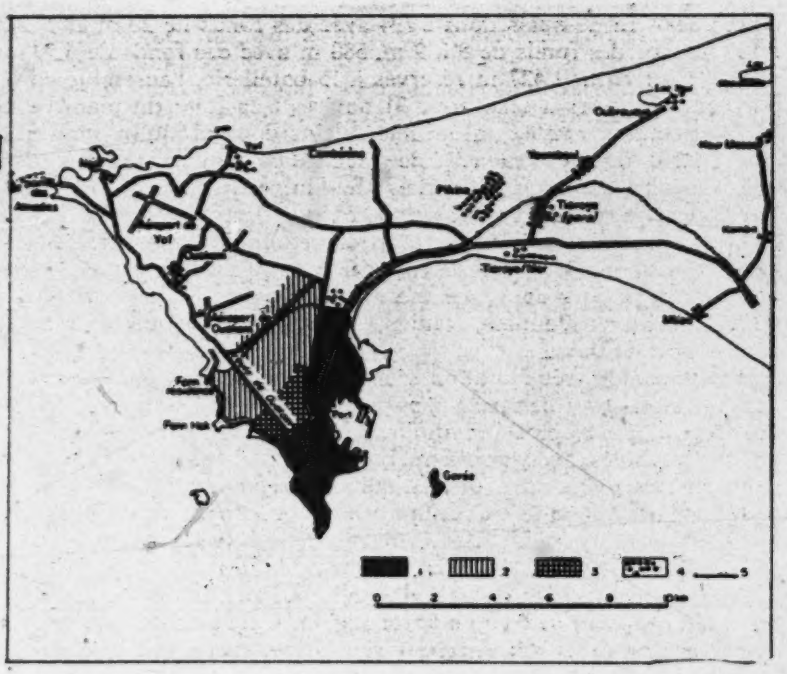

Fig. 2. The quarters of Dakar. --1. Dakar-ville and the industrial zone; 2. Greater Dakar; 3. Médina; 4. villages of the suburbs; 5. railroads.

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[441] groundnuts at Rufisque, nearer to the centers of production in Cayor. Therefore Rufisque soon became the groundnut capital. As early as 1862, 27 European or Goréan merchants were established there (and 12 at Bargny, located three kilometers farther to the east). Three years later, this figure climbed to 35 (14).

14. Note 1 in Fondation de Dakar, op. cit., p. 328.

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633 The activity at Rufisque was so great and the launching of Dakar so

/380 cont./
at Dakar.

369 648 [433] Even more than in the sphere of aviation, however, it is on the commercial and industrial plane that the other states of former French West Africa were, before the recent political disturbances, dependent on Dakar. In fact Dakar was the seat [453] of the banks and of the commercial associations or the branch [491] agencies of the mother country, all of whom /Pl. XXI and XXII appear here on unnumbered pages/ /381/exercise from Dakar, if not always a role of direct administration, at least some co-ordination and in any case an influence that is not negligible on the branches scattered across Senegal, former French West Africa, and sometimes even across foreign territories. Thus, the C. F. A. O., the S. C. O. Z., the B. A. O., and the B. C. A., which practice their activities in practically all of Black Africa, although having their seat in Paris, are strongly established in Dakar, from where they manage a number of agencies and branches. On the other hand, the Société Maurel et Prom, which has branches in Senegal, Mauritania, the Sudan, Guinea, and Gambia, the "Commerce Africain," which has establishments in Senegal, Gambia, the Ivory Coast, and the Cameroun, and other companies have their [439] seat in Dakar (17). Moreover it must be added that several in-

17. "Le Commerce Africain" transferred its seat from Dakar to Paris in July 1960.

dustries (oil factories, soap factories, breweries, cement factories, textile factories, shoe factories, etc.) established on the peninsula of Cape Verde send a part of their products to other territories in former French West Africa.

369 633 648 Finally, because of its former function as federal capital, Dakar brought together all of the federal political and administrative organs, which permitted it to direct and co-ordinate all of the political, administrative, and economic life of former French West Africa.

Thus, Dakar became the leader, the undisputed metropolis, upon which there depended a regional assemblage much

[Text continues on p. 17--Analyst]

/386 cont./

369 and independence have had the effect of reinforcing this mix-
563 ing the more since it sometimes brings about a pure and simple substitution of African staffs for European staffs in many of the lodgings.

Finally, although today the quarters of Dakar are still clearly distinguished by their appearance, the differentiation of their contents is less and less based on origin and tends to be a social rather than racial differentiation. Therefore, instead of the traditional division of the West African cities into "white city and black city," let us distinguish four sections in the Dakar agglomeration: /387/ Dakar-ville, the Médina, Greater Dakar, and the suburbs.

361 1. Dakar-ville. The plateau from the southeast to the
369 head of the peninsula and a part of the plain from Cape Manuel to the avenue El Hadji Malick Sy constitute what today is called Dakar-ville. The essential characteristic of this part of the Dakar agglomeration is that almost all of its buildings are permanent, except for some islands of huts. This is where practically all of the administrative offices, the large-scale
[366] commerce, the major part of the Lebano-Syrian commerce, and the great markets are found. But Dakar-ville shows very diverse aspects (Pl. XXI B) (Pl. XXIIA).

The Plateau is the best arranged part of Dakar-ville. It is there that the first nucleus of modern Dakar was located, extending around the port, from the station to the Protet Plaza and the Military Circle. Little changed, this nucleus has re-
[363] mained very much as it was at the beginning of the century;
[342] it is intersected by narrow streets, bordered by old houses in
[347] colonial style, with stores on the ground floor and lodgings with verandas on the upper floor. This nucleus has remained the business quarter, that of the large-scale commerce domi-
•[441] nated by the great companies and the old Bordeaux firms,
[366] C.F.A.O., S.C.O.A., N.O.S.O.C.O., S.O.C.O.P.A.O., Chavanel, Maurel et Prom, etc., surrounding the Kernel market, surmounted by its cupola of 1900 style. Several old administrative

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Municipal Government

Full Communes. Dakar (including Goree), St. Louis, and Rufisque are full communes (Vol. I, p. 258), the only ones in the Federation. 633

The Municipal Councils, which choose their own mayors, consist of from fifteen to eighteen members. These are elected for terms of four years by the French citizens of their towns, and since 1910 all the councils have had African majorities. At first these communes had powers as extensive as their counterparts in France, and they were responsible for police, public health, roads, markets, lighting, and elementary education. In 1918, however, the colonial authorities took over public health at St. Louis and at Dakar, and in 1927 at Rufisque. Similarly, in 1924, the creation of the District of Dakar was made the occasion to subtract police and roads from the commune. The same process, without the same excuse, went on in 1927 for St. Louis and for Rufisque. For all these services the municipalities still make financial contributions.

Their revenue comes from direct government grants, from municipal rates, and from municipal undertakings. Altogether they include market dues, liquor licences, lighting, and a proportion of the business licences and other colonial taxes. In normal years the revenue of Dakar averaged some 8,000,000 francs, of St. Louis 7,750,000 francs, and of Rufisque 5,600,000 francs. 652 651 633

In each case the budget is drawn up by the mayor, passed by his council, and submitted to the Governor or Administrator. [643]

Mixed Communes. There are fifteen mixed communes in Senegal, namely Bambey, Bargny-Gouddou, Diourbel, Fatik, Foundiougne, Gossas, Kaolack, Kébémer, Kombole, Louga, M'Bour, Mekhé, Thiès, Tivaouane, and Ziguinchor. Thirteen of them are mixed communes of the first degree, but since 1925 Kaolack and Ziguinchor have been mixed communes of the second degree. 633

Chambers of Commerce. There are Chambers of Commerce at Dakar, Kaolack, St. Louis, Thiès, and Ziguinchor. The one at St. Louis is the successor of a Committee of Commerce which was set up in 1825. The Chamber at Thiès is also known as the Chamber of Cayor-Baol. It was first founded at Rufisque in 1883, but in 1937, when that town was included in the District of Dakar, it was moved to its present headquarters. 441 647

In Senegal there are no separate Chambers of Agriculture and Industry, but the Chamber of Commerce at Dakar has a section, established in 1930, devoted to those two activities.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.

/109 cont./

491 line in addition to the normal traffic of pedestrians and vehicles.

653 The colony of Senegal, in concert with the Société Coignet, is currently preparing the agreement, which will be passed immediately and which will require three years for the landing, the embankments of the terrepleins, and the bridge.

The realization of the works and arrangements planned will be an interesting example of close co-operation between the government of the colony, the public works services, the [441] Kaolack Chambre de Commerce, and private enterprise.

433 To demonstrate the importance of the port of Kaolack, it is sufficient to put some figures before the eyes of the reader. One will get an idea of the growth of the commercial movement that the privileged location of Kaolack on the river enabled one to foresee 15 years ago.

433 505 In 1905, Kaolack was still a small, insignificant village. Foundiougne was the great port of the Saloum. But Kaolack was the outlet for an entire hinterland much larger; it was the access route of the products from Baol and Haut-Saloum /Upper Saloum/; finally, it was the natural port for the Sudan. Its approach, 120 kilometers from the ocean and made difficult by the passage of the Sangomar channel and [502] the sandbanks of the river, has been facilitated by the buoys. Running aground has become much rarer. Piloting, however, is obligatory.

496 433 Railroads. The railroad from Thiès to Niger, /110/ extended by a branch of 22 kilometers, which starts at Guinguinéo and ends at Kaolack, brought out the full importance of the latter point as the lands located near the railroad were improved. This development will take several years. It is steadily and fully progressing today. Like all railroad lines, the artery of the Thiès-Niger breathes life into formerly deserted regions, which are now being populated and opened for colonization.

648 504 Undoubtedly Kaolack benefited from the non-application of the Franco-British pact of April 8, 1904. As is known,

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244 493 [134 242] are much less suitable for this crop because of their composition which gives a certain acidity to the nuts, thus rendering them less suitable for industrial use in /118/ the production of fine oils. There have been attempts to correct this defect and to improve the quality of Bas-Saloum by means of seed selection and by the continued addition of seed from Sine; this has not yet been successful.

Fallow lands, however, are not lacking in the other regions of the circle.

There are 230,000 hectares planted in groundnuts. This figure represents 0.85 hectares per inhabitant. This is about 1/11 of the total area of the circle.

In 1914 this crop extended over 70,000 hectares. It has thus tripled.

The production, which was 75,000 tons in 1918, is about 140,000 tons today. It has doubled in 10 years. It amounts to almost a third of the harvest of Senegal.

One can determine the production of groundnuts in the circle since 1921 by the following figures (in tons):

Years	1921	1922	1923	1924
Tons	80,000	90,000	110,000	125,000
Years	1925	1926	1927	
Tons	135,000	145,000	140,000	

[167 242] These results are due in part to the increase in the population by the influx of foreign workers into the circle, who came to settle there or who hire themselves out, and in part to the selection of seeds and their distribution in ever increasing quantities.

[654 441 474] The credit for this work is to be given to the administration, the Société de Prevoyance /Welfare Society/, and the Chambre de Commerce of Kaolack, whose combined efforts have made it possible to achieve such a fine result.